563 651 Every year they pay the aménokal three loads of dates and three young goats.

554 The Irréguénaten. -- The Irréguénaten, like the Issekkemâren, are assimilated vassals of a social rank superior to that of the Imrad.

They are of Tuareg mothers from the Ibettenâten tribe and Arab fathers from the Kounta tribe.

They are divided into two groups: 1) the Adrar Irréguénaten or Issettafénine Irréguénaten, who descended from a sherif of Gourara named Abdelmoumen, whose two sons Mouima and Inchelane married Ibettenâten women; 2) the Ahaggar Irréguénaten or Ihaggarénine Irréguénaten, who descended from the Dermachaka, an incorporated tribe of Kounta and Ibettenâten.

All of them nomadize in the northern Ădrar des Ifôras and the Timétrine and even push as far as Erg Chech. They also visit the Ăhnet and Tămasna.

233 This is a very rich tribe engaged in raising camels. The Irréguénaten own more than 2, 300 camels, 350 cows, and more than 2, 350 goats and sheep.

162 In 1908 they numbered 50 to 60 men, according to Benhazéra. The 1938 census raises the figure to 358 persons, 100 of them fighters.

651 /202/ They pay the tioussé to the descendants of the Inemba and to the descendants of Si Mohamed ag Othman.

669 Although they associated with the Adrar Kounta, they maintained relations with the rebellious marabout Abidine, who took refuge among the Kel Ahnet. They probably even served him as spies, and the people of Ădrar des Ifôras held them in suspicion for a long time.

28 462 Their camel raising is very well known, and their wives are quite expert in leatherwork.

60 There are also Irréguénaten in the Niger loop, but they have no bonds of kinship with the Ahaggar Irréguénaten.

The tent is occupied by only one household, and each of the married couple has his own side. The man's side is to the left as one enters the door; there he keeps his mehari saddle, his weapons, and his bags of salt. To the right is the woman's place, where she keeps her bag of personal things, her saddle if she has one, the bags containing the food supplies, and the kitchen implements which she has charge of.

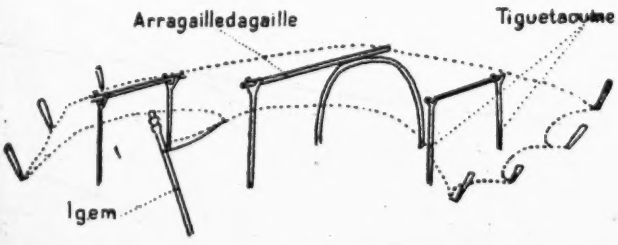

Fig. 26. Tent used by the Agouh-n-Tehlé. Sometimes the stake supporting the aragailledagaille may be replaced by a second arch. In some tribes, particularly among the Kel Ahnet, the arches were placed crosswise.

In summer when it is very hot, the Tuareg sometimes use straw huts, as much to save hides as to be a bit more comfortable. The leather tent, in fact, is made almost useless by the heat, and nomads often seek shelter during the heat of the day under neighboring trees when there are any or else in the rocks.

Captives never have tents. They build themselves little shelters with a few branches on which are hung scraps of leather or cloth.

It falls entirely to the women to put up the tents.

Granaries. -- One of the most characteristic facts of nomadic life is its lack of foresight in questions of food. For the most part, the nomad lives from one day to the next, following the seasons, without accumulating anything. This is somewhat the case for the Tuareg. Still, the Sahara is not a country where one can find supplies easily.

412 Each mistress of a tent has a little
356 wooden scraper to clean the floor of the tent, which is generally
342 covered with a layer of fine sand taken from the bed of the nearby wadi.

415 Let us add one or two earthen pots, little teapots and tea glasses, and we have an idea of Tuareg furniture, which, as one may realize, is reduced to the simplest terms.

484 When a camp is moved, all these objects are loaded on asses,
492 provided for the occasion with little pack saddles. The women are
[462] left with folding the baggage, loading it, and transporting it on the asses. They themselves ride on the baggage during the moving;
[565] only noblewomen travel on camel back. Camels are used in moving only if it is a long trip.

/230/ Chapter 3

Food

243 People may have said that the Tuareg, like many herding
262 peoples, lived on the milk from their herds. More precisely, they live on the products of their animals, but milk and meat alone would not be enough. Indeed, the base of their diet is a graminacea, bechena (Sorghum cernuum Host.), a kind of millet cultivated in the Saharian oases and in the Sudan.

[252 The Tuareg eat some wheat, but very rarely. Especially during
484] their moves and in the caravans, they eat wheat cakes cooked in the sand, for they are easily and quickly made.

[101] It is rather curious to note that the Tuareg, who belong culturally to the Mediterranean civilization (which may be called the wheat civilization), have not kept wheat as the basic food as other North African peoples have. And yet the question of food is one of the things which most ties man to his native milieu and which

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To make up this deficiency in graminaceae, the Tuareg have recourse to products of gathering.

After a rain the captives and the Imrad women gather the seeds of certain plants which grow in the Ahaggar valleys. They are the afasso (Panicum turgidum F.) and the oulloul (Aristida pungens D.). But the size of the yield varies with the abundance of rain, and one may say that most of the time it is quite /233/ uncertain. This is not the case in the Sudan, where the Iklan gather whole bags of wild seeds, particularly cram-cram (Cenchrus echinatus), every year.

Fig. 31. Little leather flask used as a butter container.

To be sure, there are a few wild berries in the Ahaggar, such as those from the jujube tree (Zizyphus lotus D.) and the téborak (Balanites aegyptiaca). In case of famine the Tuareg fall back on other seeds, such as those of the colocynth, the Acacia tortillis, etc. However, all these plants play only a secondary role in the Tuareg diet.

The Tuareg have at their disposal milk from their camels, goats, and ewes. They drink it either whole or diluted with water, either fresh or sour.

The luxury of drinking whole milk is reserved for young mothers and children. Adults generally drink fresh milk morning and

If, secondly, we look for the aptitudes which the Tuareg have for working these different raw materials, we notice that their enumeration follows the same order as above, with the reservation that none of them know how to work metals. The latter occupations are the prerogative of the Enaden, that is to say, the artisans, and it is evident from this that without the artisans' help Tuareg industry would be limited to work in wood, leather, and esparto. In short, it is the cultural cycle of the pastoral peoples of the steppe.

It is only much later, when the Tuareg had integrated the Enaden with their social organization, that they used metals. Therefore, we perceive the considerable role which artisans must have played in technical evolution and that of art itself.

Fig. 46. Wooden funnel.

/277/ The presence of Enaden in the camps has reduced the manual labor of the Tuareg, but the latter are still able to make wooden articles -- milking vessels, bowls, tent stakes, etc.

One of their most curious customs is that women from the high nobility work wooden vessels and funnels with their hands by means of a little adze. They usually give them to the wives of their Imrad, who are very appreciative of these gifts. In the Ahaggar camps we found many little utensils which were the work of famous noble-women, of tamenokalin whose names are piously kept; these objects were saved with much veneration. This custom is even more remarkable since we know the scorn that the Tuareg have for manual labor; we must see in it a relic of woodworking which must formerly have been everyone's work, without distinction, before the creation of the artisan class.

Wood furnishes containers for food, drinking vessels, milking vessels, mortars, pestles, tent stakes, crosspieces and boards for making saddles. The Ahaggar does not have more than five or six species of woods which can be worked, and the articles, very simply shaped, are much less varied than in the Sudanese tribes.

All Ahaggar women, noble or vassal, know how to tan, remove hair from, sew, decorate, and embroider leather. They are able to make a waterskin needed to carry water, prepare skins to make tents, and manufacture bags for transporting food and personal objects. They have all become so expert in these labors that it is

Fig. 47. Amoula, a little wooden "bottle" for young children to drink from.

difficult to find any other peoples in the world who possess such a developed leather craft.

The scarcity of vegetable materials in the Ahaggar is one of the reasons why the use of esparto is relatively restricted. Only the stems of a graminacea common in the wadies (Panicum turgidum) are used to make mats -- large enclosing mats which surround the tent, sleeping mats, mats for covering plates.

/278/ The stems are bound by little leather thongs, and the combination of graminacea and leather is extremely effective; it allows very regular geometric decorations at the same time as a very solid work.

There are no esparto vans among the Tuareg. The women use palm-leaf vans and hats, but these articles are the work of the Harratin from the little palm groves of Silet, Ideles, and Abalessa.

283 Spinning is done by all Tuareg women. They spin the hair of the
462 goat, the camel, and the wild sheep, making very solid cords and saddle girths.

286 Weaving is limited to the making of goat's-hair, or more rarely camel's-hair, bags. This is a very primitive technique which does not require any loom and which is, furthermore, in the process of disappearing from the Ahaggar, where only a few noblewomen still practice it. It is completely extinct in Sudanese tribes.

324 Stonework, a relic of Neolithism, was still carried on in the Ahaggar
438 a few years ago to make arm rings. Layers of granitoid schists were formerly worked
[415 at Aseksem and Terahart in the Tafedest. We also found
322] an ancient workshop south of Silet on the banks of the Tamanrasset wadi. Today all stone bracelets come from Aïr and a few from Hombori, where they are manufactured by Tuareg or Hausa artisans.

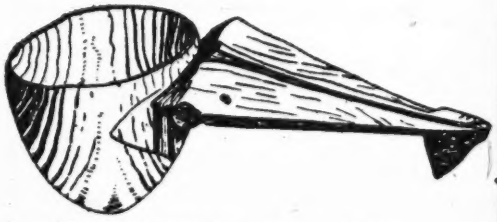

Fig. 48. Tabarekkat wooden ladle, also serving as a drinking vessel.

326 Metalworking is exclusively in the hands of the Enaden, who transform
[56] silver, copper, and iron. These materials, with the exception of iron, do not exist in a native, workable state in the Ahaggar. But although iron
[135] ore is common /279/ in some volcanic rocks of their country, the Tuareg do not have it exploited, for it is found in such small particles that it necessitates a disproportionate amount of forge work for the quantity likely to be recovered. Nevertheless, the memory of casting ore still remains among the Enaden. They use several forges at once, but do not know
[439] the blast furnace. The caravaneers coming from the north or from the Sudan used to bring metals.

117 At the present time silver comes from coins which are melted. For
326 years the Tuareg have had Maria Theresa dollars at their disposal; these

304 Circumcision. -- Boys are circumcised at the age of three or
852 four, usually by a marabout. Circumcision (amoud, amilli, or
azemmoued) is not the occasion for any festivity and is practiced
[412 collectively. The contusing instrument used is a little knife with
302] an iron blade, used by the men as a razor. During the healing
period the child rests in his parents' camp and is cared for by them.

[171] Little girls are not excised as they are among the Moors of Tagant and Hodh.

291 Children go around naked until they are five or six years old,
855 depending on the wealth or the foresight of their parents. Little
[556] girls wear a loincloth at the age of six or seven, while boys wear trousers of the same style as the men.

861 Education. -- Children's education begins after weaning. From that time on the boy passes under the control of his father, while the girl stays in her mother's hands. This education is hardly complicated for either the boy or girl.

868 The little boy, from the age of five, takes care of watching
857 the goats and sheep by himself. Later he is entrusted with the camels, which he leads to pasture and to drink. He is also taught how to
[162] milk goats, for among the Tuareg, men, as a rule, take charge of this job. Toward the age of seven he begins to ride camels. Then fights with sabers or lances are organized in the form of games between children of the same age, arms being replaced by millet stems or tree branches. This is not a part of education properly speaking, since it is done by the children themselves.

868 Religious education is rather neglected among the Ahaggar
869 Tuareg where marabouts are scarce. When there is a marabout in a camp, he teaches children and young people the rudiments of the
[212] Koran, which they learn by heart by singing it all day long, for they are ignorant of Arabic writing.

881 /287/ The litham /veil/ is put on the boy at fifteen or sixteen
[145] when the hair begins to appear in his armpits. It is put on by the
291 father, most often at the time of Ramadan. There is no additional
[131] ceremony for the occasion. The father gives his son some good advice, and young women and girls give him tobacco as a gift.

1: Lhote--166b E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Plate XVI

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Settled in improvised camps, blacksmiths work in the open air making weapons and utensils needed by the Tuareg.

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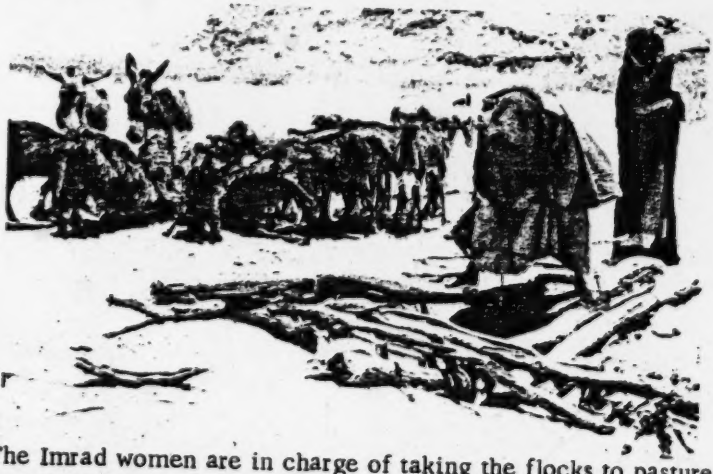

The Imrad women are in charge of taking the flocks to pasture and water. Every two or three days they go to the wells, drawing water for the goats, who drink out of wooden bowls or out of skins used as containers by placing them on mounds of sand in the shape of a basin. They fill the waterskins which will be transported to the camp by asses.

2:Briggs E-4,5 (ca.1956) 1958
MS25 Tuareg MS25
[P.95B] Hoggar

291 tract which otherwise suffer severely in an arid climate, even when the ambiant temperature is only moderately high. Thus it is clear that the teguelmoust does have a very real practical value, regardless of what the Tuareg may say; and it is clear also that the men who wear it need it far more than do their womenfolk who go without.

291 It is not true that Tuareg women of the
512 Ahaggar (fig. 48) are exposed to the rigors of their environment either as much or in the same way as are their menfolk. The men are
462 out and about a good deal of the time, riding here and there across the countryside on errands of one sort or another or on long journeys far away, while the women sit quietly in the shelter of their tents, gossiping, telling folk tales, doing fancy leatherwork, and teaching tribal lore and sometimes Tifinagh [11] to the children. Every family that is
[567] not miserably poor has at least two or three slaves to fetch and carry water, prepare the meals and do the other daily chores, so that the mistress of a normal Tuareg household in the Ahaggar has no need to take a single step outside her tent except when camp is moved, or to visit with her neighbors and to answer calls of nature.

291 Although it is true that Tuareg women
171 do not wear veils, it is also true that women of the other Saharan nomad tribes, Arabs included, seldom if ever wear veils either, except on the very rare occasions when they visit a sedentary settlement or town, and even then not always by any means. But Tuareg and other Saharan nomad women alike all draw a corner of the head shawl (or turban cloth) across the nose and mouth occasionally as a simple matter of physical protection, and this has the same practical effect as putting on a veil does.

291 All this data on the wearing of veils and going without them proves nothing, to be sure, but it does go to show that the Tuareg teguelmoust itself can have had a strictly utilitarian origin after all, as Blanguernon (1955, p. 99) implied, quite apart from the origin of the elaborate and rigid ceremonial quality with which its use has become imbued.

291 As for the date at which the teguelmoust
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[11] The Tuareg alphabetic script.

3: Holiday J-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

533 For example, a rough division can be made straight away between the songs that seem
[177] to suggest a negro origin and those whose flavour is indisputably, let us say Moorish, rather than Arabic. First of all it would be as well to deal with the few instruments used by the Tuareg in relation to the type of song they accompany; for, here again, the same division occurs.

534 The nearest that the Tuareg possess to an instrument capable of producing a melodic line is the "amzhad" (or "imzad". The plural of the word, "imzaden" meaning "hair"). This is a single stringed instrument of the lute variety comprising a sound box usually made from a gourd and covered with stretched membrane, a rough neck of stick being fixed across the diameter and projecting about 12 inches. The string is passed over a rudimentary bridge made of two short pieces of stick lashed together so as to form a shallow "V" and tied to the end of the curved neck. The pitch of the string is determined first of all by a sliding loop further down the neck and controlled during performance by the musician's left hand. A bow is used and it is from this that the instrument derives its name, since the bowstring is made from the hair of the women. The instrument is pitched on the open string usually at an approximate middle "C", though this can vary since an "E" above middle "C" frequently becomes the tonic note. Its range is roughly an octave and a third, accompaniments often being played in the top part of the register. Intervals approximating to perfect intervals predominate during performance.

Two kinds of percussion are used by the Tuareg, not counting group handclapping that features with many of the songs: a tom-tom with a wooden shell and single head, and a more hybrid contraption involving a gourd and a bowl of water. The tom-tom, which is played with the flat of the hand, has a head of stretched gazelle skin fastened by a cord made of goat hair and can be tuned by damping with water. Dry, the tom-tom produces a "treble" note, and wet, a bass one. The shape of the shell resembles an eggcup, and although tom-toms vary in size they are roughly a foot in diameter and eighteen
[434] inches high. The wood comes from the French Sudan, but the tom-tom is to be found wherever the Tuareg go. The gourd and bowl of water suggest that it is a recent innovation, since bowls are not readily obtainable in the Sahara except through foreign manufacture and trade, i.e., foreign to the Tuareg. Indeed, the bowl largely favoured is an ordinary enamelled affair about six inches deep and perhaps eighteen inches across such as is found in the kitchen of any European home. Filled with water and this surface struck rhythmically with an inverted half gourd it produces a deep, damped note comparable to a well-tuned bass drum.

Wind instruments are unknown among the Tuareg and the "amzhad" and the two percussion instruments mentioned above are the only musical devices used. Certain distinctions govern the use of these three instruments that have their roots in tradition.
462 All of them are played by the women who, particularly with the "amzhad" display con-
533 siderable virtuosity: for a Targui to play an instrument would be *infra dig*. Consequently, much of the propagation of folk-culture is in the hands of the women, though the men-
[177] folk do not consider the heroic beneath their dignity. However, the war songs, recounting the deeds of great warriors, are practically extinct since the Tuareg have passed from being a fighting race, levying protective tolls upon the caravans, to become a quiet, almost passive people, anxious for survival in the face of encroaching modern civilisation that has already dissipated the often considerable wealth amassed before the French gained control in the Sahara.

533 The music of the Tuareg falls into the two types mentioned earlier: songs that seem
[177] to owe their origin to negro influences, and those that have certain Moorish characteristics. It is curious to note that none of the songs of the women feature the use of mordents or shakes, whereas those of the men invariably do so. Secondly, percussion other than handclapping is never used to accompany the men, while the "amzhad" is never used to accompany the songs of the women. When the "amzhad" is used, perhaps because

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air

563 601 akin to the system in use among the black-skinned citizens of Agadez. These people draw no distinction between parallel cousins and cross-cousins, while distinct terms for these relatives are characteristic of true Tuareg systems (fig. 8 9).

563 342 The material culture of the Air negroes is marked by both northern and southern traits. The most common type of dwelling is a beehive hut *(tatrami)*, which I have also seen south of Air in the savannah, while similar huts are unknown to the north in Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer. The huts are often placed within round enclosures which are possibly of Sudanese origin (cf. fig. 15). There are however other types of dwellings in the Air villages. Very common is a square straw hut *(tekhira)* with a slightly elevated saddle-roof. It is built by the men while the beehive hut is made by women, and both types are frequently used by one and the same household. This square hut differs constructionally from the straw huts used among settled agriculturists in the north. Also rather common is a barrel-vaulted hut *(ehen)* covered with mats (fig. 14). It has the same name and is of much the same construction as the movable huts or tents used by most pastoral Air Tuareg (fig. 5 & 13). It is built by women and seems to have been introduced by pastoral [462] women married to settled agriculturists. Finally there is in some villages a rectangular house *(tayarhant)* with a flat roof. It has very solid walls generally built from stones inserted in and covered with mud. It has various sub-types more elaborately described by Rodd, who considers these houses to be of northern origin (Rood 1926a, p. 240ff.). They have most probably been introduced from Tassili-n-Ajjer 177 312 or the Fezzan from which regions came also the irrigation system now forming the basis of agriculture all over Air, namely the drawing of water from shallow wells *(anou)* by means of zebus. This system is extremely common in the Fezzan and Tassili-n-Ajjer from where, as mentioned, it was introduced also to Ahaggar. It is not known when it came to Air, but in many villages it has been adopted only very recently. Not so many years ago water for irrigation in most villages was apparently raised by human power, namely by the pole and bucket provided with a counterweight *(ayoudit)* (cf. Capot-Rey 1933, p. 322), but this method has now disappeared. It can be considered the oldest irrigation machine and it is no doubt [174] of very great age in Northern Africa including the Sudan. The method however 241 involves much strenuous work and in view of this it may seem quite natural that agriculture in Air was in the past also practised as shifting cultivation without any irrigation. Rodd states that in certain areas of Air rain-grown crops could be raised most years and that in the past a fair amount of cereals seems to have been produced in this way (Rodd 1926a, p. 133). I think this is correct. Certain crops as for instance millet has a very short period of growth; in Ahaggar (Abelessa) millet is sown in June-July and harvested in September, and it is said that it is not watered very much and never to the same extent as wheat grown in winter. It would no doubt be possible to grow millet in many parts of Air without artificial irrigation during the rains, and in fact millet was grown by shifting cultivation not far from Agadez as recently as up to the French occupation. But nowadays cul-

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25

114 174 233 valeur d'immenses territoires inutilisés" (Gautier 1942, p. 209f.). 2) "Il est donc légitime d'associer le nom des Zenata à la grande révolution politique et sociale qu'a entraînée au Maghreb l'apparition du chameau. Zénète et chameau apparaissent en même temps, et tout se passe comme s'ils apparaissaient l'un portant l'autre" (Gautier 1942, p. 227). 3) "En effet, quoique Ibn Khaldoun et d'ailleurs tous les historiens arabes nous signalent les Zenata dès le début de la conquête arabe, il semble qu'au VII[e] siècle les Zenata n'aient pas été encore, aussi exclusivement que plus tard, les représentants du grand nomadisme" (Gautier 1942, p. 227).

Gautier says about the Tuareg: "Ces gens-là sont de grands nomades chameliers; dans nulle autre tribu ce caractère n'est aussi marqué et c'est cela même qui fait leur originalité" (Gautier 1942, p. 240). Most Arab historians confirm that the 175 Tuareg are in particular camel-breeders, and the Tuareg do not belong to the 101 Zenata group. According to Ibn Khaldoun the Berbers fall into two great divisions: 233 1) The *Botr* descending from *Madghis-Ibn-Berr*, and comprising the Zenata group and several other tribes. 2) The *Beranes* descending from *Bernes-Ibn-Berr*. Several Berber tribes and among them most Tuareg belong to this division (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 168ff.).

It is interesting that Tuareg camels are frequently referred to in Arab literature 175 as being of a particular light and slender breed extremely well fitted for riding 233 (Ibn Khaldoun II, p. 70, 105. – Edrisi p. 11, 67f., 144f. – Leo Africanus p. 940f.). To-day there is a marked distinction between the camels of the north found mainly 171 among Arabs, and the camels of the south among the Tuareg. The Arab camel is 233 heavily built and particularly fitted for luggage, and the Tuareg say it is also superior as a milk-producer. It has a thick covering of wool around the hump and on the forepart of the body. The southern camel as found among the Tuareg is very different. It has a slender built, short hair, and is particularly fitted for riding as mentioned by the ancient Arab authors. These two different camel-breeds apparently exist all over Northern Africa from the Red Sea to the Atlantic, and the heavy and woolly type seems to be characteristic of Arabs (cf. Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 415f. – Murray 1935, p. 92ff. – Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 79ff.), who are also the [177] true black-tent dwellers. It is possible that the Arabs have introduced the black [342] tent into Northern Africa together with a particular breed of camel, while another breed was introduced before the Arabs.

The cultural position of camel-breeding has never been thoroughly studied. As I have pointed out elsewhere (Nicolaisen 1939a), it is peculiar that so many customs connected with camels are also typical of cow-breeding of the East African cattle complex (cf. Baumann 1940. – Herskovits 1926. – Kroll 1928). The common [462] traits seem to be the following:– 1) All work connected with camels and oxen is [825] done by men. 2) Camels and oxen have important social functions and their [538] breeders take an interest in these animals beyond their practical importance. Both camels and oxen play an important part in poetry, which is frequently characterised by a tendency towards identification between man and beast (cf. Evans Pritchard 1940. – Foucauld 1925-30, I-II).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

end of the *akasa* season. In other words:— When the inhabitants of a camp have their collectively guarded goats divided into two parts, one of these brings forth kids at the time when the other is mated. 233* 132

This method of mating-regulation is that ideally used by prosperous goat-breeders both in Ayr and among the Northern Tuareg. If in the north a flock is divided into two parts the kids are born in autumn (*amerwan*), and in spring (*tafsit*) the former season being the better. Kids brought forth between these two seasons are known as *amezahar*. But as climatic conditions and consequently also the quality of pastures change from one year to another in the true desert country, the mating-system of division into halves cannot always be practised in Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. In severe periods of drought goats may be too meagre for mating for a whole year or even longer, during which time the he-goats will have their penis bound. Thus during the dry year 1954/55 no goats were mated in Ahaggar. – It should be noted that the best season for the birth of kids is the late summer or the autumn (*akasa*, *amerwan*) when the tender annual plants spring up. Kids borne at this season will be fully grown for mating after one year so that they bring forth kids at the season of spring (*tafsit*, or *tabsit*), while kids born in spring will be mated after a year to bring forth kids late in summer or in autumn (*akasa*, or *amerwan*).

Milking takes place twice daily – early in the morning before the flock leaves for grazing, and late in the evening one or two hours after the return of the animals to the camp. Milking is done by women, or occasionally by male slaves. The individual animals to be milked are frequently called by their names and a special sucking sound is made to calm the animals, which are milked differently in Ayr and Ahaggar. In Ahaggar the milk-maid holds the wooden milk-bowl (*akus*; Fig. 21 b) in her left hand, presses the left hind leg of the goat firmly under the upper part of her right arm, while she milks with her right hand (Fig. 23–24). In Ayr milking of goats is frequently performed in a standing position the milk-maid then holding the milk-bowl (*takabart*; Fig. 37) in her left hand, keeping the left hind leg of the animal firmly between her knees, and milking with her right hand. If the milk-maid milks 234 462 192 184 415

233*

Fig. 18. The little stick (*akaru*, *aoughru*) used by the Northern Tuareg to prevent half-grown kids from sucking. Ahaggar, the *Ajjeh-en-ehhi* tribe. Dimension: the stick 0.056 m; the cords 0.330–0.380 m. (N.M. G. 5825).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 23. Slave boy milking goats - a task which is normally performed by women. The milk-bowl is held in the left hand, and the milking is done with the right hand, while the goat's left hind leg is held fast beneath the right upper arm. Ahaggar, the *Ajjuh-en-tehlé* tribe.

GOAT MILKING

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Fig. 24. Tuareg milkmaid milking a goat as described Fig. 23. Ahaggar, the *Ajjuh-en-tehlé* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

or ingal) for selling, they are also frequently provided with a wooden prong (*aburi*) loosely attached around one foreleg to prevent them running away. I have never seen this practised among the Fulani who have much more control over their cattle than have the Ayr Tuareg.

Cows continue to bring forth calves and yield milk until they are about 15 years old, and the duration of their life is estimated at about 20 years. But it is considered appropriate to keep milch-cows until they are ten or twelve years old when they should be sold or killed. The period of gestation for cows is about ten months, and there is no regulation of mating. The Tuareg say that cows will be on heat and mate again shortly after the birth of a calf, and that milk-yielding does not stop until five months after mating. Free mating of the cows agrees well with Tuareg interests as prices of calves are high.

Milking of cows takes place twice daily and is generally done by women – in rare cases by men. Milking is performed as follows:— Just before the herd returns from grazing in the evening every calf is firmly attached to a tree by means of a cord (*témetrek*) around its neck so that it cannot reach the udder of the mother cow. When milking is to take place the mother cow is attached to the same tree by means of a cord (*aran*) around its horns. The calf's rope is now loosened and it will immediately start to suck while the milk-maid fastenes another rope or cord (*akarah*) around the hind legs of the cow. When this is done the calf is attached to its tree again, and milking begins. The milk-maid squats at one side of the cow (generally at the right side) holding the large milking bowl (*akahar*) (Fig. 37) between her legs and knees, and milks with both hands (Fig. 29). When the milk-maid has taken the milk she wants she releases the calf to let it drink what is left in the udder, but the calf is thereupon attached to its tree again in order that it may not suck during the night. Before the cows leave the camp in the morning milking is performed again as just described, but it may happen that the cows leave for grazing already during the night, and they are then not milked again until next evening. Tuareg who possess a great many calves may guard them within a so-called *zeriba* (*afarag*) made of thorny acacia boughs.

Most cows will not yield milk unless they have their calves close to them. If a cow loses its calf it may be replaced with the calf of another cow so that milking can be done, but it is also common to use the so-called dummy-calf (*azeyuz*) made from the dead calf's skin stuffed with hay. This puppet is then set close to the cow which is deceived by it. It feels that its calf is standing by, it licks the skin, and milking can then be done without much difficulty.

The dummy-calf is not used by the zebu-owning agriculturists of Ahaggar, though I have met one of these *Harratin* (*Izeggaren*) who had once made a calfskin-puppet after he had seen the method practised among *Iforas* Tuareg at Kidal. The method of blowing into the cow's vulva is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *askuf*; it is used particularly for cows which are difficult to milk shortly after the birth of a calf. During migrations, when young calves march together with the mother cows, suckling is prevented by means of a piece of dum palm leaf attached around the calves' mouths. Such an attachment known to the Ayr Tuareg as *adahar* may be used also for other domestic animals.

Weaning of calves takes place according to one of the following methods:— (1) *ikenshar*, that is cuttings made with a knife in two or three places on the bridge of the calf's nose. The wounds of these cuts hurt the calf when it tries to suck, but the method is effective only for a very short period until the wounds have healed. On adult animals the scars of these wounds appear as small bumps (Fig. 30).

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Fig. 39. A very young camel calf tethered in the camp by means of the *idndit* rope depicted below (Fig. 40). Tamesna, Ahaggar Tuareg of the *Iregnaten* tribe.

she-camels which are difficult to milk because they will not allow the calf to suck. The method has been described to me by Tuareg of Ayr. It is named *arazak* and is as follows:— Fresh camel-dung is put into the nostrils of the mother-camel, and its nose is thereupon pierced at three places with an awl a hole being made in each nostril and one hole between them. A cord of dum palm leaf is thereupon drawn through these three holes so that the nostrils are firmly closed, and the animal can consequently breathe only through the mouth. It is said that a she-camel which has carried this bandage for one day will be fond of its calf and will allow it to suck so that milking can be done. 234 [1/2]

Milking of she-camels is usually done twice a day, early in the morning and very late in the evening. In Ayr certain Tuareg milk their she-camels several times during the day, as the animals generally graze close to the camp and frequently come to the tents to see their calves. Milking between the two proper milking times may also be done with other domestic animals in Ayr if milk is needed for some purpose or other during the day, but it is practised particularly with she-camels, as milk gathers in the udder of these animals very quickly after milking.

Milking of she-camels is done by two men standing at the sides of the she-camel and leaning their heads against the animal (Fig. 36). One of the men holds the large wooden milk-bowl *akabar* (Figs. [4/6] [4/5] 37-38)

[text continues on p. 61]

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37–38) and milks only with one hand, but the milk-bowl may also be held by a woman or a boy so that both milkers have two hands free. If men are absent from the camp, milking may be done by women though properly this is the task of grown men. Certain she-camels are very difficult to milk so that milking should be done as quickly as possible. If a she-camel is very restless and therefore difficult to milk it is customary to bend up its right foreleg and attach it in this bent position to its left foreleg before milking is done. This method is known to the Ayr Tuareg by the term *ésemmetil* (cf. Fig. 35).

The Tuareg have various devices to prevent camel calves from drinking more than their proper share of milk. In Ayr and also among the Ahaggar Tuareg of the Tamesna region it is common to keep the young calves tethered by means of a particular cord (*témdit*) fastened to the calf's forelegs (Fig. 39–40). The calf is not allowed to follow its mother during grazing, and in the night when all she-camels rest in the camp they are kept lying on the ground so that the calves cannot suck them. When young calves are tethered in the camp they are fed on fresh annual plants collected for them by the Tuareg. When calves grow older and plant food constitutes their most important nourishment,

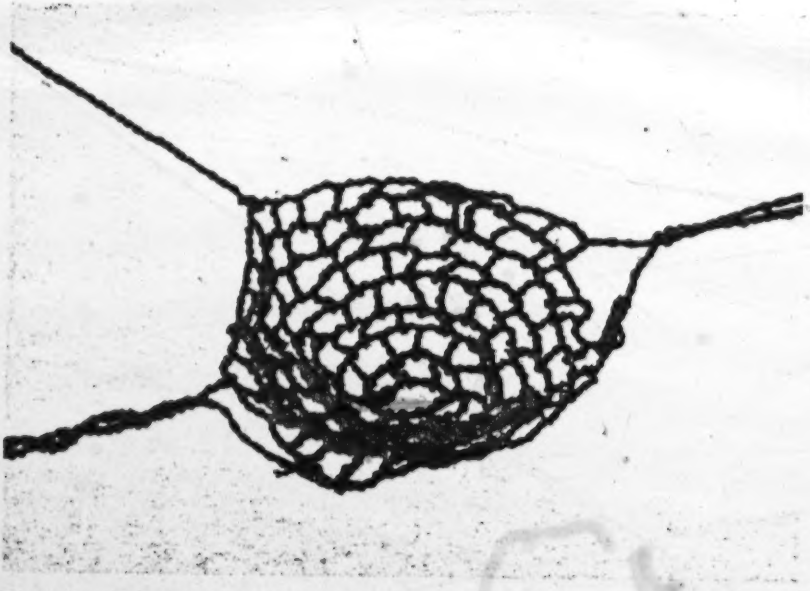

Fig. 41. Plaited pouch (*abeǯu*) to prevent the sucking of camel calves. It is made of goat's hair, and it has three cords for attachment to the hind part of the she-camel so that the pouch covers the udder. Ahaggar, the *Águb-en-tehld* tribe. Dimension of the three cords: 1.19, 1.05, and 0.97 m. (N.M. G. 5198).

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saddle known as *tebeyut* or *tkhawit* and described above p. 76 (Fig. 57). The Ahaggar Tuareg have four sub-types of women's saddles:— (1) *akhawi*, that is a very large saddle at each side provided with a wooden arch; (2) *tkhawit* (*ta-n-tkéwin*), a lighter saddle provided with similar wooden arches; (3) *aragen*, a large and heavy saddle without side-arches; (4) *tkhawit* (*ta-n-tehḍaḍ*), a light saddle without side-arches. These saddle types, particularly the former type known as *akhawi*, are exhaustively described by Foucauld in his dictionary (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 723), and a very beautiful specimen is here depicted from the collection of the Musée de l'homme (Fig. 75). Very elaborate saddles as that depicted are always made by the blacksmiths, but light saddles of the *tkhawit* types may also be manufactured by Tuareg women. Thus women of the *Ireǧenaten* tribe south of the Ahaggar Massif make saddles of the lighter type themselves. Women's saddles may sometimes be provided with a roof made from curved and bent boughs covered with cotton or blankets. This peculiar construction is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *ahennaka*.

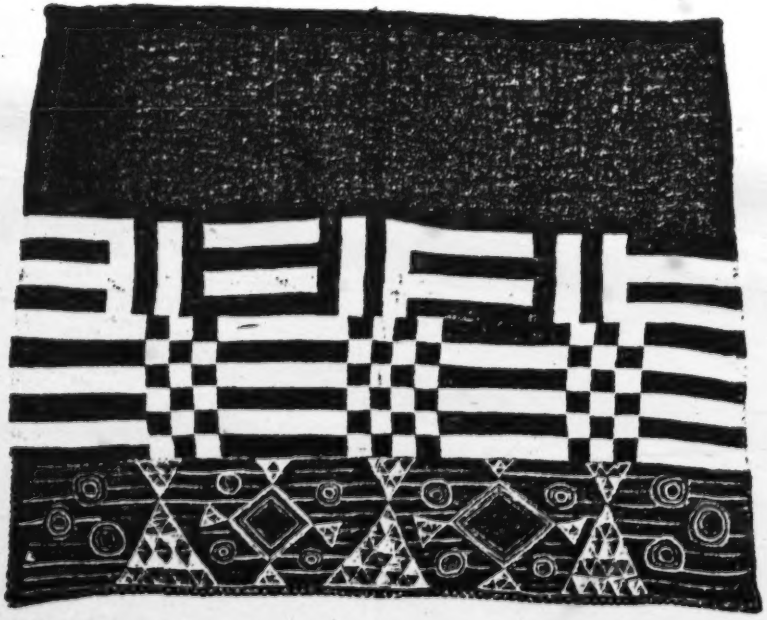

Fig. 67. Saddle cloth (*amesla*ḳ) of cotton and embroidered with coloured thread. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.771 × 0.420 m. (N. M. G. 5190).

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household goods during nomadic migrations, and are employed daily in all camps to carry water in skin-bags from wells and waterholes to the tents. They are very strong animals considering their low stature, and good pack-donkeys can carry up to one hundred kilograms even for very long trips. Donkeys are occasionally used for long journeys by the Northern Tuareg, and many Ayr Tuareg use them to fetch provisions of millet around Tanut in Damergu. Caravans of donkeys are frequently observed in these regions, and one even sees mixed caravans of donkeys and camels. There can be no doubt that before the introduction of the camel the donkey was still more important for riding and transportation than is the case nowadays. This is clearly demonstrated by historical material from Egypt and adjacent regions (cf. Erman 1922, p. 518 f., 529, 592 f., 636).

It has already been mentioned that donkey's meat and skin are not utilized nowadays by the Tuareg. The same is true of mare's milk which, however, is used as a remedy against a kind of cough known to the Ayr Tuareg as *khamkham*. There is no regulation of mating for donkeys which in many ways are semi-domesticated animals. In Ayr male donkeys are never castrated, while the Ahaggar Tuareg say they castrate such stallions as constantly run after the mares and in this way cause too much trouble. The Tuareg also have no methods to prevent foals from sucking, while a method of this kind is sometimes applied by sedentary people in and around Agadez. This method known as *éfinjar* consists in the cutting of the nostrils of half-grown foals so that they cannot suck pregnant mares. Both stallions and mares are used for riding and transportation, but female animals are much preferred for these purposes. Mares are used almost exclusively for the transportation of water-bags hanging under the animals, as the bags might be squirted by stallions' urine.

The Northern Tuareg saddle their donkeys, using the same saddle type for riding and for transportation (Fig. 86). This is known as *aruku* and is manufactured by the women in the following way:— Two fresh boughs of the *tahunek*-tree (*Rhus oxyacantha*) are heated, or slightly burned, over the fire. The boughs are thereupon barked and bent into the curved form wanted, and are then kept in this position by cords. After drying for a few days the boughs will retain their curved form, and the cords are untied. The boughs are then cut up and their ends are connected by two pieces of camel's hide soaked in water, and sewn together by means of a large iron needle (*tasugla*, or *tasubla*) (cf. Fig. 220b) and a thread which is also cut from camel's hide. The wooden saddle frame is attached to three cushions. These cushions are generally made of goat-skin or sheep-skin stuffed with hay or with date palm bast, but may also be plaited from leaves of the date palm tree. Cushions made from goat-skin are sewn together with strips of the same material by means of the little awl known as *tisteni* (cf. Fig. 218a). The two long cushions resting lengthwise upon the animals back are known as *tastek*, and the small cushion resting over the animal's back close to its shoulders is called *tafelledut*. The saddle is fixed to the donkey by two girths consisting of cords made of goat-hair. One of these cords (*tidmechart*) passes under the tail, the other (*ahayif*) is tied around the chest of the animal. This saddle type is well fitted for the transportation of burdens and in particular of water-bags, the cords of which are attached to the pommels. When the saddle is used for riding it is frequently covered with a blanket or a piece of cloth. Saddles of this type are found in all camps of the Northern Tuareg, and Lhote states that they are also found in Adrar-n-Foras and in Ayr (Lhote 1947a, p. 120). This may be so but I have myself never seen them in the latter region where they are unknown to the *Kel Ferwan*

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361 621 *akasa* period when there is green annual pasture, but the large camps have no co-operative functions and no particular leader. The small camps join together to form big camps because their members are linked to each other by bonds of kinship, and consequently like to come together.

361 221 Most of the year the Ayr Tuareg live in very small camps around wells, and certain camps remain on almost the same spot throughout the year. However, most camps move about in the *akasa* period, and later, at the end of the rains, many camps move southwards and westwards to the salt plains of Azawar.

DIVISION OF LABOUR IN STOCK-BREEDING

462 Before we consider other activities, we shall briefly describe the division of labour in stock-breeding according to sex.

462 565 [567] In all Tuareg groups noble women do very little work. They engage in a few very esteemed crafts such as embroidery, neat decoration of leather work, and in the north they cut ornamented milk-bowls from wood. The true domestic duties of a noble household are performed by slaves. This to some extent is also true of other social classes among the Northern Tuareg, while the Ayr Tuareg vassals have very few slaves nowadays. But even in vassal camps among the Northern Tuareg women have their duties and engage in all kinds of domestic work, also in stock-breeding. In the two groups

462 *233 342 [566] of Northern Tuareg the division of work in stock-breeding can be seen when one enters a tent of a vassal camp:—

One half of the tent (the left part) is occupied by the woman and contains such implements as are connected with tanning, leather-work, cooking, butter- and cheese-making, and generally all implements connected with the breeding of goats, sheep, and donkeys. The other half of the tent (the right part), occupied by the husband, contains saddles and all other objects connected with camels. The tending of goats, sheep, and donkeys is the task of women, while camel-breeding is the business of men.

462 *233 [857] Before initiation Tuareg boys may be occupied with herding goats, sheep, and donkeys, but when they have adopted the veil they should preferably take care of camels only. There are, however, a few occasions where men engage in tasks connected with goats and donkeys:—

Goats like any other animal can be killed only by adult men, who also undertake the skinning and partition of the meat.

Castration of he-goats and rams may be done by men, but it is said that it is also performed by women.

When goats suffer from certain diseases they may in a few very special cases be taken care of by men. Thus when a goat has broken a leg and wooden splints are applied to the fracture this is generally performed by the husband of the household to which the animal belongs.

When goats and sheep are lost in the desert they may be searched for by men mounted on camels.

On the whole there are not many situations where the assistance of men is needed in tending goats and sheep, and most men have so little to do with goat-breeding that they do not know the exact meaning of many colour terms for goats.

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462 231 [492] Among Northern Tuareg vassals donkeys are tended by women, who use them for riding and transportation over short distances. Tuareg men rarely ride donkeys, but the assistance of men is needed in connection with some of the tasks of donkey-breeding:—

It may become desirable to increase the stock of donkeys by catching wild animals as already described above. This is always done by men who also break-in the captured animals for riding. The assistance of men is also frequently needed for catching half-wild, though domesticated donkeys.

The marking of donkeys, castration, which is rarely performed, and the curing of diseases, which are also rare, are said to be tasks which should properly be carried out by men.

[565] Vassal women only tend camels when all men are absent from their camp.

The above rules of division of labour are in general also valid in Ayr among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. But there are in Ayr vassal Tuareg who have no camels and vassal men in Ayr frequently ride donkeys. The tending of cows in Ayr is mainly the work of women, who are also more familiar with cattle terms than are the men. – Among the *Kel Ewey* the skinning of goats and sheep, as well as the partition of the meat, are done by women.

428 In the Tuareg groups I have studied both men and women inherit camels, goats, sheep, and donkeys according to Islamic rules of inheritance.

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Fig. 110. The skinning of a gazelle placed upon straw of *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). Ahaggar, the *Tayneḳ* tribe.

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ajako. According to Foucauld a small annual edible plant growing in the Ahaggar Mountains at an altitude above 2000 metres (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 712). Maire mentions this plant as unindentified (Maire 1933, p. 263).

Collecting is mainly the task of women, but males – particularly uninitiated boys and slaves – also participate. Seed-plants are generally harvested by rubbing the ears of the plants between the fingers, but the *tullult* grass (*Aristida pungens*) is cut with a sickle (*amreh*; Fig. 143 a–b) to be thrashed and winnowed like wheat and barley. Edible roots are frequently collected merely by hand. However, a digging stick (*élaweg*; Fig. 123) provided with an iron point is also used to dig up certain wild plants such as *ahahel* (*Cistanche Phelypaea*) and similar root plants. This digging stick is characteristic of vassal women who use it for many different purposes, e.g., to make holes for tent poles.

The very best among the above mentioned seed-plants is the *tullult* grass (*Aristida pungens*). Its seeds are collected or harvested by certain Tuareg inhabiting the lower parts of Ahaggar, but are important particularly to the Tuareg living in and around Tasilé-n-Ajjer. Within the Ahaggar Massif the most important seeds are those of *afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*) and *tawit* (*Chenopodium Vulvaria*). The right to collect these seeds is free to everybody, and Tuareg of the *Abada* zone may send their slaves to the *Atakor* zone to collect *tawit*-seeds in the mountain plateau of Asekrem. The species of *afezu* and *tawit* are sometimes protected by an ban on grazing for three and two months respectively in order that their seeds may grow ripe for collecting. The right to put a ban on grazing of the two species belongs to the Tuareg in whom territorial rights of a sub-area are vested (cf. p. 150). It is said that under very favourable conditions a single household may collect some hundred kilos of seeds of the two plants mentioned. This may seem rather impressive, but even in good years when milk is abundant collecting will not provide pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar with sufficient vegetable food, for seeds of wild plants are far less nourishing than are grains of wheat, barley, and millet. The collecting of wild plants important for food is as dependent on climatic conditions as is stock-breeding. In dry years, when domestic animals yield little or no milk at all, there will also be no wild seeds for collecting.

Fig. 127. Very small bag known as *élem* ("skin") made from a kid's scrotum (*tigassaté*). The bag contains a piece of resin of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia seyal*). This resin is eaten by the Tuareg as a remedy against stomachache. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the piece of resin: 0.07 m long. (F.M. 149 a–b).

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Fig. 143a–f.
a–b. Sickles of the type used for harvesting wheat and barley in Ahaggar.
They are known as *amrek*, pl. *imreken*.
a. From Tamanraset. Total length, 0.271 m. (N.M. G. 5256).
b. From Abalessa. Total length, 0.365 m. (N.M. G. 5828).
c–f. Agricultural implements from Ayr.
c. The short threshing stick (*aburi*). From Iferwan. Dimension: 0.49 m. (N.M. G. 6618).
d. The hoe (*tagumit*) hafted by means of a tongue. From *Kel Ewey* Tuareg near Agadez.
Dimension: 0.70 m. (N.M. G. 6615).
e. The semi-circular weeding implement (*elgechwad*). From Iferwan.
Dimension: 0.295 m. (N.M. G. 6617).
f. The sickle (*elgechwad*) which is used for cutting annual grasses. From Agadez.
Dimension: 0.305 m. (N.M. G. 6613).

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It seems as if millet and sorghum are always harvested by women, while dates are harvested only by men. Other crops are harvested by persons of both sexes.

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Threshing methods are the same in Ahaggar and Ayr. Wheat and barley, which are sheaved and dried before threshing, are beaten with a stick (Ahaggar, *aburi*; Ayr, *aburi* or *asedbaḳ*). This threshing stick is an unfashioned bough of trees or date palms, but a short and club-like implement is also frequently used in Ayr (Fig. 143c). Threshing of millet, sorghum, and maize is done by pounding in a

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Fig. 155. Skin bag (*tasafra*) for the conservation of butter-milk on journeys. The bag is made from an entire goat-skin and has a handle of goat-hair cord tied to the skin patches of the hind legs. A leather handle is attached to the lower part of the bag which is ornamented with leather fringes, Ahaggar, the *Ajjah-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.77 m long without the fringes. (F.M. 89).

milk, and this butter is not considered as delicious by the Ahaggar Tuareg as their own butter, churned mainly from goat's milk. – The use of wooden churning sticks by means of which milk is stirred in an open container is unknown in Ahaggar and Ayr, so far as I know. Churning sticks are used in other Tuareg groups. They are common among the Tuareg of Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas (Musée d'Ethnographie, Neuchâtel, no. 49.2.44 & Musée de l'homme, Paris, no. 38.16.48) and among the *Iwillemmeden* Tuareg and the Fulani (Musée de l'homme, Paris, nos. 41.19.411 & 41.19.1326).

All Northern Tuareg, as well as the Northern Arab pastoralists and semi-nomadic Berbers and Arabs of the Atlas, make cheese from butter-milk, while this type of cheese is unknown among the Southern Tuareg and also among the Fulani. In Ahaggar butter-milk cheese (*awles*) is manufactured by women in the following manner:— Butter-milk is heated over the fire in an earthen pot (*téṛirt*, or *ufrun*) (Figs. 186, 187a–b) by which process the milk is divided into two parts, namely pure water and a curdled mass of milk (*akru*). This mass of curdled milk is placed in a special basket (*aragus*) (Figs. 167a–b) hanging from a tree or a similar object to sort out the whey. Thus there remains a mass of cheese in the basket, and this mass is formed into small round pieces to be left for drying. Butter-milk cheese is manufactured in this way by all Northern Tuareg who are thus able to obtain butter and cheese from the same milk.

Another type of cheese is made from fresh milk and is manufactured not only by the Northern

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Fig. 183. Baking a *tafeila* bread. The gruel-dough before it is covered with sand, ashes, and embers. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs.

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Fig. 184. Plaited tray (*téseyt*) which serves to winnow grain and flour but is used also for a cover of milk-bowls and eating bowls. Made according to the technique of coiled basketry by Tuareg woman. The plaiting material is straw of *taleggit* (*Juncus maritimus*). Ahaggar, the *Aſuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.333–0.343 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 5824).

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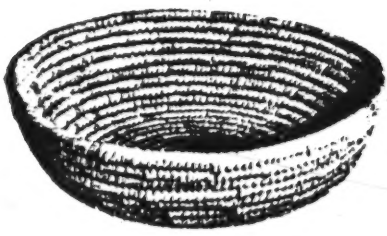

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Fig. 185. Tray or bowl *,tabeyka* – perhaps not correctly spelled). It is used for winnowing, and it serves as an eating bowl and a drinking bowl as this container is watertight. Coiled basketry of date palm leaves (*aḡum*). Made by Tuareg woman. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ḥali* tribe. Dimension: 0.205 m in diameter. (F.M. 263).

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Fig. 186. Pot (*talekkint*) with a single handle. Manufactured by *Ḥarratin* women in Ahaggar, the *Aḡuh-en-tekké* tribe. Dimension: 0.18 m high. (F.M. 172).

in a mortar with a little water to a soft dough to which a little cheese, butter, or milk is added before eating. If a large quantity of milk is added this dish is known as *tarkit*. The Ahaggar Tuareg, as mentioned (p. 167), also pound dried dates with locusts to make a dish eaten by women who wish to grow fat.

The Arabs and the Arabic-speaking agriculturists of Tidikelt (the *Ḥarratin*) have introduced among the Northern Tuareg the well-known North African dish generally called kuskus. The dish is known to the Tuareg as *keskesu* which is also Arabic by origin. But this dish is not the staple diet among the Northern Tuareg that it is among the Arabs and the Berbers of the Atlas. It is eaten mainly on festive occasions, and there are many Tuareg women who even to-day do not know how to prepare it. The *keskesu* dish is preferably made from wheat flour, though barley flour may also be used. The cereals are ground with hand-mills or quern stones (saddle querns), and the flour is rolled into very

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Fig. 187a–b. Earthen cooking pots manufactured by *Ḥarratin* women in Ahaggar.
a. Pot (*téṛiṛi*). Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs of Tamanṛaset. Dimension: 0.210 m high. (N.M. G. 5841).
b. Pot (*alekkin*). Ahaggar, *Ḥarratin* of Taṛhawhawt. Dimension: 0.174 m high. (N.M. G. 5204).

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Fig. 188a–b. Simple ladles of the *aserwi* type used for stirring millet porridge. Made by Tuareg women from wood of *absaṛ* (*Acacia Raddiana*).
a. Ahaggar, the *Aṭab-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.382 m long. (N.M. G. 5211).
b. Ahaggar, the *Ihayawen Hada* tribe. Dimension: 0.415 m long. (N.M. G. 5846).

*252 [415] small balls with a diameter of up to five milimetres. The balls are put into a special earthen, wooden, or plaited bowl (*denba*, or *denfu*; Fig. 189) which has a number of small holes in the bottom. This receptacle is placed on the top of a cooking pot containing meat and/or vegetables to be boiled in water for a soup. The small flour balls are thus steamed by the boiling soup in the cooking pot. Like

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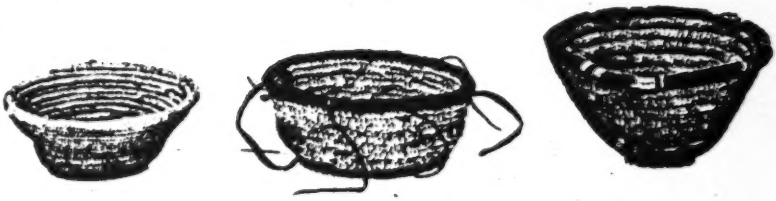

Fig. 196a–c. Plaited bowls in coiled technique. They serve as eating bowls for little children and are known as *tafakemt* (pl. *tifokam*).

a. Plaited from straw of *taleggit* (*Juncus maritimus*) by Tuareg woman. Ahaggar, the *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.036 m high, 0.100 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 5215).
b. Plaited from straw of *taleggit* (*Juncus maritimus*) by Tuareg woman. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.043 m high, 0.102 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 5214).
c. Plaited from straw by Tuareg woman. Ahaggar, the *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.105 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 5844).

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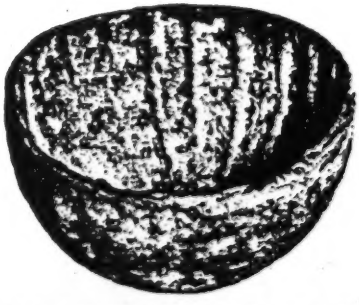

Fig. 197. Small calabash (*tafakemt*) which serves as eating bowl for little children. Ahaggar, the *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.055 m high, 0.095 m in diameter. (F.M. 145).

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by blacksmiths (*Inaden*). Tuareg women wear certain stone ornaments which derive from prehistoric finds or are introduced from other countries. But in Ahaggar I have collected one stone ornament, or rather an amulet, which was said to have been manufactured by a Tuareg woman of the vassal class. This stone amulet (*amerwas*) (Fig. 201) may be described as a large bead or button pierced in the middle for the insertion of a leather strap. It is said to be used as an amulet against diseases of little children, who are also very fond of looking at the red-white stone material from which the amulet button is made. The hole for the little carrying strap is made by means of an awl known as *éndel* (Fig. 218b, p. 278). This stone amulet has been described elsewhere together with certain other stone ornaments used among the Ahaggar Tuareg (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, Fig. 6a–l p. 128 f., p. 139 f.).

Earthen pots are widely used by pastoral Tuareg even nowadays, though European metal vessels are available at the principal trading centres. They are particularly common in Ahaggar where the Tuareg take their earthen pots with them on donkey's back during nomadic migrations – the old belief that pottery does not go with the roaming life of pastoralists is contrary to fact. However, metal vessels are, of course, more durable and will no doubt in a few years replace the earthen pots which are not manufactured by pastoral Tuareg. The Ahaggar Tuareg acquire their pots from the cultivation centres where there are a few women who practise the art of pottery making. There are various types of pots (cf. Figs. 186, 187a–b) which are made from black clay (*talak*). The lowermost part of all pots is formed over the bottom of an old pot on which is placed a piece of moistened cotton in order that the clay shall not stick. The upper part of the pots is built up with the hands according to the well-known technique of the application of thin sausage-like strips of clay. This technique is also used for the manufacture of other containers such as earthen milk-bowls (*akuz*) (Fig. 21a), incense jars (*elbakhkhar*) (Fig. 203), and drums (*akrakal*, *abakar*) (Fig. 202a–b). These latter types of pottery are not in general use among pastoral Tuareg but are common among sedentary agriculturists. The pottery made in

Fig. 199. Neolithic stone axe known to the Tuareg as *tafeft n afrenu*. Used as whetstone for iron knives. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.10 m long. (F.M. 109).

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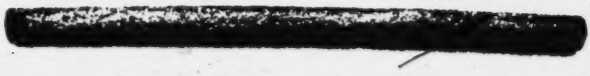

Fig. 200. Neolithic stone pestle. From Olufsen's collection. The Tuareg of Ahaggar say that these pestles were made by the ancient *Isebeten* people. Dimension: 0.81 m long, 0.045–0.050 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 1.46).

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Fig. 201. A stone amulet (*amerwas*) made by a Tuareg woman of a brown and white stone like that depicted. Ahaggar, the *Ajjuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the amulet: 0.025 m in diameter. (F.M. 176).

The pottery made in

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331 Ahaggar is plain and usually without any kind of ornamentation. But I have brought home from Abalessa a piece of a pot decorated with pricks in much the same way as are the prehistoric potsherds frequently found in caves in the Ahaggar Mountains. The pot in question was made by a woman from Abalessa. The pots to be burned are covered with wood, and small pieces of wood are also placed within them. Burning takes place in the evening when there is not too much wind, and the pots are removed next morning. After burning, the pots assume a red colour, but all pots that have 114 been used over the fire for some time become black. I have myself never attended the manufacturing 113 of pottery in Ahaggar, and readers are referred to a study by Lhote for more detailed information 437 (Lhote 1947b, p. 145–154). Pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar acquire most of their earthen pots from sedentary agriculturists of their own country, but they also buy some pots of superior quality during trading expeditions to the Sudan (Fig. 192).

462 In Ayr, pottery is manufactured by sedentary women of Agadez and probably also by women of the sedentary *Kel Ewey* of certain Ayr villages. No true pastoralists seem to make pots, which in Ayr are manufactured according to techniques related to those from Ahaggar (cf. Lhote 1950c, p. 507–512).

[Text continues on p. 260]

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Fig. 202a–b. Two ceramic drums of a type used by sedentary agriculturists in Ahaggar.

a. Large drum (*akrala*). Made by woman of the *Ikerrain* at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.450 m high, 0.310–0.325 m in diameter at the top. (N.M. G. 5907).

b. Little drum (*akakar*). Made by woman of the *Ikerrain* at Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.25 m high, 0.25 m in diameter at the top. (F.M. 286).

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206a–d). The ordinary axe (*taḍeft*) is used by all Tuareg who may also possess small adzes (*tat-tawt*), used mainly by women for the manufacturing of domestic implements such as spoons and milking bowls. These implements manufactured by Tuareg women are generally inferior in quality to those made by the blacksmiths, though certain noble women of the *Kel Rela* tribe make wooden milking bowls that are said to be superior to those of the blacksmiths. In Ayr, Tuareg women engage very little in wood-working, and the Ayr Tuareg are on the whole less skilled in crafts than are the Tuareg of Ahaggar.

Pastoral Tuareg are experts in rope making. Ropes made from various materials play an important part for the Tuareg for hobbling domestic animals, for fastening burdens transported on camels, as reins, for the erection of tents, and for a great many other purposes. Incidentally the Tuareg make substitutes for ropes in a very simple way. Thus if a man comes upon a camel which he wishes to take back to camp and has no rope or rein to lead it by he makes a lead from three or four pieces of palm leaf, or the like, attached to each other. It is stated by Maire that the Ahaggar Tuareg make simple

Fig. 204a–b. Earthen pots made by the sedentary *Imeggedezen* of Agadez.

a. A water jar with two spouts. It is known to the Ayr Tuareg and the Hausa-speaking *Imeggedezen* as *geigeleti*. It is used by the latter people but never by pastoral Tuareg. Dimension: 0.30 m high. (N.M. G. 6635).

b. Earthen jar used for water and also for cooking. It is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *tḍyint* or *tiekin*, to the Hausa-speaking *Imeggedezen* as *tokuntya* or *tuke*. Dimension: 0.285 m high. (N.M. G. 6634).

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Fig. 205. Painted earthen pot (*idkanawi*) manufactured by the professional potmakers called *Ikenawen*. Ayr, Agadez. Dimension: 0.32 m high. (N.M. G. 6636).

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824 hobble ropes from straws of the *tulluli* grass (*Aristida pungens*) (Maire 1933, p. 62). For the manufacture of proper ropes the Tuareg may employ the bark of trees. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr they use the bark of *Acacia Raddiana* (*abser* in Ahaggar, *afegag* in Ayr) for this purpose (Fig. 113). These ropes are made after much the same method as that used for the Ahaggar ropes of date palm bast (*asan*)
283 and those of dum palm leaves made in Ayr. Ropes of this kind are always made by men, who, when
462 making ropes from date palm bast, proceed in the following way:— Pieces of bast are soaked in water contained in a receptacle. They are thereupon torn into small strips about 20–30 cms long. These strips are rolled and twisted between the hands, and are kept in this rolled position under the foot until sufficient numbers of strips are available for the rope to be made. The ends of two rolled strips are then placed between the first and the second toes, and the strips are twisted together between the hands. New strips are added and twisted in this fashion until a suitable length of two twisted rows of strips has been made. This length is thereupon stretched over one of the feet, doubled, and twisted between the hands. It is finally hammered with a stone while resting on another stone or upon the bottom of a large mortar which is frequently used for support. The Ahaggar Tuareg make their hobble ropes in this way (Fig. 207), and the Ayr Tuareg apply the same technique to ropes made from strips of dum palm leaves which are also soaked in water before twisting. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr this method may also be used for the manufacture of leather cords (Figs. 43, 73a).

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Fig. 206a–d. Axe and adzes of the Ahaggar Tuareg.

a. The ordinary axe (*eqfefi*) which is found in all Tuareg camps. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.572 m long; dimension of the iron blade: 0.157 m long, 0.053 m broad. (N.M. G. 5233).

b. *tettawt*, a small socket-shafted adze with knee-shaft. Adzes of this type are common in Tuareg camps. They are used mainly by women for wood-carving. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.301 m long. (N.M. G. 5232). [322]

c. *tikadimt*, adze shafted by means of a piece of sheet-iron and nails. Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.440 m long; dimension of the iron blade: 0.150 m long, 0.038 m broad at the edge. (N.M. G. 5864).

d. *tikadimt*, slot-shafted adze. Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.430 m long; dimension of the iron blade: 0.222 m long, 0.065 m broad at the edge. (N.M. G. 5865).

The axe and the adzes are all made by blacksmiths. [564]

The very best ropes or cords manufactured by the Ahaggar Tuareg are those made from goat's [283] hair which is sheared with a knife by the women once a year in the hot season. These ropes are known [232] to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *ihelhumen* (sing. *ahelhum*), while the proper term for a rope of goat's hair [233] in Ayr is *azaw*. But the Ayr Tuareg do not make such ropes as they have goats of the short-haired [438] breed (p. 33). They obtain their ropes from the Ahaggar Tuareg. Ropes of goat hair are manufactured [462] by women by the following method:— The mass of hair, known as *ehafilen*, is placed upon a piece of skin and is prevented from blowing away by means of a stone. The hair is then taken out in small quantities with the first and second fingers of the left hand to be spun upon a stick 30–40 cms long.

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Fig. 210a–b. Two coiled baskets provided with lids.

[462] a. *takhelit*, basket plaited from pieces of palm leaves (*aḍum*) and reinforced with coloured leather (goat-skin). Manufactured by women of the sedentary *Kel Găt* in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, bought from blacksmiths at Tamanrasset in Ahaggar. Dimension: 0.13 m high. (F.M. 227).

b. *adabun*, basket plaited from pieces of palm leaves (*aḍum*). It is ornamented with coloured leather thread and with woollen yarn. Ahaggar, blacksmiths at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.205 m high. (N.M. G. 5837a–b).

283 This stick, which is held in the right hand, is turned around its own axes while the hair taken out from the mass with the left hand is occasionally moistened with water or with spittle. The stick upon which the hair is spun is known as *aseggelem*. I have noted in Ahaggar that a length of 50–60 metres of spun hair can be made in about twenty minutes. Such a lenght of spun hair is trebled and attached to two sticks also known as *aseggelem* (pl. *iseggelam*). It is twisted together by two women each holding one of the sticks, and may be conserved for some time before it is finally made into a rope by further trebling and twisting (cf. Fig. 208). Certain cords to be used in connection with riding camels (e.g., reins) are not twisted in the above manner, but are plaited (cf. Fig. 51). The spun hair is used for the manufacture of certain objects without twisting (cf. Fig. 167a–b). Lhote states that the hair growing on the knees and neck of barbary sheep is also used for spinning (Lhote 1955a, p. 319).

[237] [284] 288 * [415] [114] The Northern Tuareg spin camel's hair or wool (*teḍuft*) which is used for very few purposes (cf. p. 67). But camel's hair is sometimes mixed with goat's hair to be spun for thread used for a primitive type of weaving; true weaving is an unknown craft among the Tuareg while important to Arab pastoralists of the Northern Sahara. The Tuareg type of primitive weaving with spun hair is carried out with no other implement but the hand; it is used for small transportation bags known as *tirrar* (sing. *tferirt*), a word, according to Foucauld, derived from Arabic (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1776) (cf. Fig. 209a–b). I have myself never had the opportunity to see how weaving of this type is done.

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A photograph illustrating a women making a bag from spun hair is reproduced by Lhote, who states that bags of this nature are rarely manufactured nowsdays and are made exclusively by a few noble women of the *Kel Rela* tribe (Lhote 1955a, p. 319 f., pl. XV p. 384). This statement does not agree with information gathered by myself in Ahaggar, where I was told that bags were made from spun hair by Tuareg women of other tribes and notably by women of the *Iselkemaren* class.

In Ayr spinning of cotton is performed mainly to obtain sewing thread, which is considered superior to European thread for sewing cotton clothes. To my knowledge most pastoral women do not spin their own cotton thread but buy it at the market of Agadez. However I have noted the existence of simple cotton bows in a *Kel Tédalé* camp in the northern part of the Ayr Massif. The occurrence of the simple cotton bow among the Ayr Tuareg should no doubt be viewed in connection with the use of this implement in the Western Sudan (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 260 ff.) from where the cotton plant has also been introduced.

Coiled basket-work plays an important part with the Tuareg, particularly the Northern Tuareg who are experts in this technique which is related to sewing. A very primitive type of coiled basketry

Fig. 211. Basket (*alguergur*) plaited from date palm leaves (*aguer*). The handle is of date palm bast (*azem*). Ahaggar, blacksmiths at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.38 m high. (N.M. G. 5835).

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may be seen in Fig. 167a–b illustrating baskets used for the manufacture of butter-milk cheese in Ahaggar. True coiled basketry is sewn with a little awl (*tistent*) (Fig. 218a).

The technique of coiled basket work is used in the manufacture of a great many receptacles among the Tuareg of Ahaggar, and coiled basketry made and utilized by these Tuareg can be seen in Figs. 184, 185, 196a–c, 210a–b.

The Ayr Tuareg apparently do not make coiled basketry to a very great extent, but they know a technique related to that used in Ahaggar, and also sew with a small awl (*ésian*). The reason why so many Ayr pastoralists make very little coiled basketry work probably lies in the fact that plates, bowls, and other receptacles of this type can be obtained at the market of Agadez at very low prices.

In the manufacture of plaited basketry the Ayr Tuareg are experts. They use the leaves of the dum palm for plaiting a great many different articles such as tent-mats, containers, and the like. When large mats and similar objects are made, the palm leaves are always plaited into narrow bands which are sewn together with pieces of leaves by means of a large needle (*tasubla*) (Fig. 220b). Plaiting dum palm leaves is one of the most important tasks of women among the *Kel Ayr*. Pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar in contrast to those of Ayr do not engage much in plaiting basketry, and I believe that most of them are unaware of this technique which is known to all sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar. The plaiting material used by these people is date palm leaves (*aḡum*) from which they make mats, bags, and similar objects. Baskets (*aleguiguten*) like that reproduced Fig. 211 are manufactured by sedentary agriculturists of Abalessa and are sometimes used by pastoral Tuareg. Another type of plaited basket is that illustrated Fig. 135. It is made from palm leaves and has two handles made from palm bast twisted into a rope which is sewn into the basket by means of the large needle (*tasugla*, or *tasubla*) (Fig 220b). This basket type (*tésenit*) is widely found throughout Northern Africa among sedentary people of the oases and in the Atlas. The sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar use baskets of this kind for many different purposes, and they play a part in agricultural work, e.g., to carry fresh soil to the gardens (p. 191) and to remove soil when digging and cleaning out foggara canals.

The Tuareg have a third technique which can adequately be mentioned in connection with plaiting, namely the manufacturing of mats from the stems of the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). These mats are made from straws placed parallel to each other and fixed together by means of strips of leather. These mats are known as *éseber* or *téserbert* according to their use and size. They play an important part in Ahaggar where they are used as a kind of windscreen surrounding all tents, and they are manufactured by many women among the *Kel Ahaggar* (Figs. 268, 269). Mats of this type are also made by some Ayr Tuareg for cheese manufacturing (Fig. 168), but Tuareg women of Ayr practise very little this particular technique of mat making. Large mats made from *afezu* stems are used for bed covers, and in rare cases also for windscreens or sunshades, but these mats, which are found in all Tuareg camps together with the large wooden bed (*tekabut*) (Fig. 212a–b), are not manufactured in Ayr but in the south, particularly by women of the *Iḡdalen* Tuareg. Mats manufactured by this method are used for an interior cover of the barrel-vaulted mat-tent (Fig. 265d); these mats are also imported from the south.

The Tuareg are expert at skin and leather work which constitues the most important craft in the

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Fig. 213. Tanning receptacle (*ahaǰa*) of camel-hide lashed to a ring consisting of a bough bent into a circular position. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ɣali* tribe. Dimension: 0.55 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 5229).

281 north where tents and a great many domestic implements and containers are made from skin. Skin
● 463 work plays a certain role also for the Ayr Tuareg, but pastoral women in Ayr do not engage in this craft to the same extent as do women among the Ahaggar Tuareg.

281 The Tuareg have several terms for skin and leather. In Ahaggar I have noted the following:—
192 (1) *élem*, the common word for the skin of most animals whether tanned or untanned; (2) *akker*, that is the common word for an untanned hide of all animals with the exception of camels, oxen, giraffe, and certain antelope; (3) *érit*, the skin of camels, oxen, giraffe, and certain antelope whether tanned or untanned. The terms noted among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg in Ayr are largely different:— (1) *awreɣeɣ*, an untanned hide; (2) *égachik*, tanned or untanned skin of all animals with the exception of oxen, camels, giraffe, and certain antelope; (3) *érit*, tanned or untanned skin of oxen, camels, giraffe, and certain antelope; (4) *esarku*, tanned skin of oxen.

281 I have already mentioned that camels are killed in a peculiar way and partitioned before skinning so that the hide is never removed entire. I have stated in the same connection that pastoral Ayr Tuareg do not use camel's hide in their crafts, and I have mentioned that though camel's hide plays a certain part in Northern Tuareg crafts they never tan it, while they tan skin of all other domestic animals and game animals such as gazelle and barbary sheep. The Northern Tuareg use camel's hide for lashing wood (cf. Fig. 86), and they also employ it for camel whips (cf. p. 84) and for camel hides which are now to be described.

*415 The Northern Tuareg use camel's hide for the manufacturing of a large tanning receptacle known as ahaǰa (Fig. 213).

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237 Ayr Tuareg a piece of ram's horn may serve as an amulet case attached around the upper arm. Horns
*[415] of barbary sheep are used for butter containers among the Northern Tuareg (cf. p. 223; Fig. 165), who sometimes use a piece of pointed gazelle horn for daubing antimony around the eye.

281 The Ahaggar women cut skin and leather with a small knife (*telmusit*), and a piece of wood (*asettemu*)
● 462 and/or a stone (*tazzet*) are used for smoothing the skin which is then placed upon a particular wooden
[413] board (*elkeyleb*) (cf. Figs. 219a–d). The Ayr Tuareg do not make so much refined skin work. Women
*[415] among the Northern Tuareg conserve their implements for skin and leather work in a particular bag (*askagen*) which is made from leather attached to a bottom piece of horn (*isek*) (Figs. 220a–g).

[531] Northern Tuareg women take a great interest in their skin and leather artifacts, which are richly decorated with fringes and hanging tassels, and with geometric designs in different colours. I have
386 noted the following colours among the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer:—
822 (1) *haba*, indigo which is introduced from the south in the form of balls.

(2) *tawnkent*, which is also known as *tafidet* and *tanezezzeft* according to Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1934. It is a yellowish mineral which yields an entirely black colour frequently seen on ornamented skin bags. The mineral according to the Ahaggar Tuareg is introduced from the south, while the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer claim that they obtain their minerals of this type from Serdeles north-east of Rat. – A black colour which is also known as *tawnkent* is said to be made by the Tuareg of Ahaggar in the following way:— Pieces of iron are put into water contained in some small receptacle, usually a tea glass. This receptacle containing water and iron pieces is covered with a bowl or a similar object in order that the sun light cannot penetrate. After a few days the water turns into a black colour to be used for skin dyeing.

(3) *semento*, a green colour derived from a mineral or a powder introduced from the south. According to some Tuareg this green colour is also made by means of a vegetable powder introduced from the north, from the region of Mzab.

(4) *khodarbas*, a powder which yields a green colour. It is said to be introduced from the south (from Tawa) and to derive from a tree known as *tafnit*.

[524] (5) *errumman*, the fruit of the pomegranate tree known as *terrummant* (*Punica Granatum*). It is used with a white mineral (alum), known as *azref n Tawat*, and introduced from In Salah. Parts of the pomegranate fruit and of this mineral are mixed with water to be used for a yellow or yellow-brown dye which is applied to many decorated skin bags for ground colour.

(6) *temesaruak*, a mineral introduced from the north (Mzab). It produces a yellow colour.

[243] (7) *herki*, a reddish brown colour obtained from a particular type of sorghum known as *tallak* grown in the cultivation centres of Ahaggar.

(8) *tédersé*, a white colour obtained by placing the skin for about three days in a container with fresh milk to which a little salt is added. – Among Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer I was told that a white colour is also obtained from a kind of powder introduced from the Sudan.

386 Before use these above mentioned colours or dyeing materials are generally dissolved in water
[83] contained in a tea glass. When they are employed for the very fine geometric designs of leather bags they are daubed with a small knife known as *telmusit* (Fig. 219b).

[439] It is interesting that most dyes used by the Northern Tuareg are introduced from the north or from the south,

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Fig. 228a–c.

a. A cylindrical hollowed piece of wood covered with leather. It is known as *tafendit* and serves to contain antimony (*tazult*). Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.22 m long. (N.M. G. 5875).

b. Cylindrical brass tube covered with ornamented leather. It is known as *faralu wa n tuka* and serves for the conservation of *tuka*, that is ashes of burned *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). Ashes of this grass are used by some Tuareg for chewing tobacco. It is said in Ahaggar that containers of this type are made exclusively by noble women of the *Kel Rela* tribe, and that the containers should be worn only by noble Tuareg and not by vassals. The brass tube is always made by blacksmiths. Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.265 m long (total length). (N.M. G. 5888).

c. A piece of cane covered with coloured leather and fringes of the same material. It is called *tafendit* and serves for the conservation of *tazult* (antimony). Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tekid* tribe. Dimension: 0.116 m. (N.M. G. 5267).

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the south, or are obtained from plants grown by sedentary agriculturists. The technique of skin dyeing as practised by the Tuareg nowadays cannot be considered an ancient one in Tuareg culture. Its origin is probably to be looked for in the more developed civilizations of Northern Africa, and not in a nomadic culture like that of the Tuareg. Other dyeing methods known to the Tuareg may well be very ancient. I believe this to be true of the red ochre known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tamegkoyt*,

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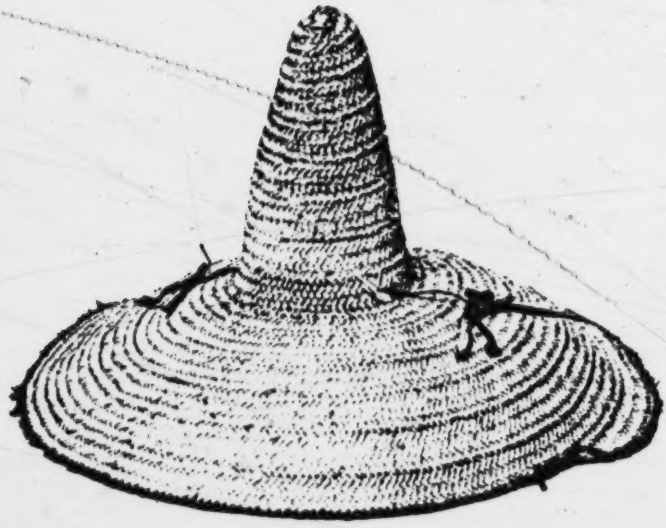

Fig. 231. Woman's straw-hat (*idi'*) plaited from straps of date palm leaves (*aḏum*). Ahaggar, the *Dag Ḥali* tribe; manufactured at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.565 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 5276).

386 to the Ayr Tuareg as *tamezgoyt*. It is found both in Ahaggar and in Ayr, and is used for dyeing tent-skins (cf. p. 361).

281 462 [415] [564] A number of the most common skin bags and similar objects of decorated leather work made by Tuareg women in Ahaggar are reproduced in Figs. 220–229.

Though the pastoral Tuareg women in the north are excellent leather workers they find their superiors in the blacksmiths women and those of the *Imeggedezen* of Agadez. Women of these sedentary negroid groups provide pastoral Tuareg with leather objects like sword-sheaths, amulet cases, leather purses, large saddle bags, cushions, and the like (cf. Figs. 72a, 76, 121a–b, 172a–b, 198).

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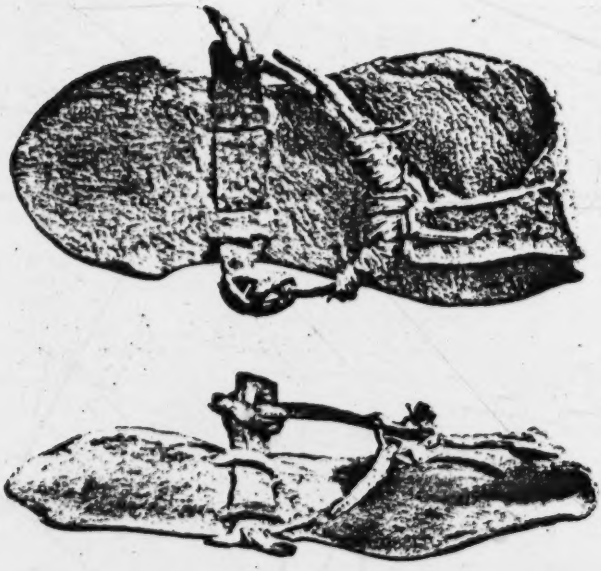

Fig. 243. Sandals resembling the *taglirezef* type but having no heel-straps. Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. Dimension: 0.275–0.285 m long. (N.M. G. 1.8).

have heard being *éṛatim n tagayt*. It is provided with a strap of leaf passing between the first and second toes, and straps of the same material to support the instep. Thus it is kept to the foot in much the same way as the leather *takalmi* sandal, and there is possibly a historical relationship between the two types. Sandals made from plaiting dum palm leaves wear out rapidly but are quickly made. They are worn mainly by children and by very poor people.

[42] An extremely common type of sandal in Ahaggar is that known as *émerked* (pl. *imerkeden*). These are never made by professional craftsmen, but are manufactured in Tuareg camps by vassal women [232] who use the large awl (*éndel*) for sewing sandals. They are made of the tanned skin of sheep and 294 goats, or the skin of oxen if this is available. The sandals, almost rectangular in form, are made from several layers of tanned skin sewn together with leather thread. At the back of each sandal two leather loops are inserted in, and sewn to, the leather layers, while a long leather strap is inserted in and sewn 291 to, the fore part. The sandal is kept firmly to the foot by means of the leather strap which passes between the first and second toes, and through the two leather loops to be fastened over the instep (cf. Fig. 242a). This sandal type is in high esteem for walking in the mountainous parts of the Ahaggar Massif, for it is strong, keeps firmly to the foot, and does not easily slide on the rocky surface. It is

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Tuareg where influence from Arab material culture is particular strong, and it is structurally identical with the Arab pack-saddle known as *ḥawiyya* or *ḥedâğe*. The origin of the pack-saddle called *aruki* among the Southern Tuareg is not easily determined. It may perhaps constitute a late type which developed from a pack-saddle with two curved or angular trees in front of the camel's hump. This may be true of some *aruki*-like saddles. But certain pack-saddles of *aruki* type may perhaps have originated from a kind of split wood similar to that used for camels by the Somali of Tana River (cf. Ahlefeldt 1948, ill. p. 137).

There are other traits of camel breeding that have apparently been introduced among the Tuareg through contact with the Arabs. This may be true of the looped rope (*asaṛun*) connected with a little stick for attachment around the camel's foreleg (p. 72 ff., Fig. 45a). This device is unknown among the Ayr Tuareg though common among the Northern Tuareg who often make it of camel's wool. It seems to be known among most, perhaps all, Arabs, who manufacture it from the same material. Among the Ababde and the Bisharin it is plaited from dum palm material (cf. Sleesen-Dolk 1957, p. 12, Figs. 28–30). It is most probably an Arab trait which also seems to be Cauvet's opinion (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 554 & pl. LXII, p. 555).

We may perhaps also mention the large woven transportation bags which are extremely common among all North African Arab pastoralists, while unknown among the Tuareg. But small plaited or woven bags of goat hair mixed with camel's wool are manufactured in Ahaggar by women of certain tribes (p. 266 f, Fig. 209a–b) .These bags are known as *tiṛṛar* (sing. *téṛeṛiṛt*) which seems to be derived from Arabic (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1776 & Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 711). The small loading sticks *tiḥḍaḍ* (sing. *téḥeḍiṭ*) (p. 76) used to unite the two halves of a camel load are [illegible]aps also Arab in origin for this particular word is apparently also derived from Arabic (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 520 & Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 711).

The origin of other traits of camel-breeding is not so easy to determine, but it is very possible that the plaited pouch which among the Northern Tuareg constitutes the normal method to prevent camel calves from sucking (p. 62, Figs. 41–42) was also introduced by the Arabs. This device is unknown among the Ayr Tuareg and apparently also among the *Kel Geres*. It is found among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* (*abegu*) and is recorded in literature from the *Kel Dennek* (Nicolas 1950a, p. 141), and from the Moors (cf. Monteil 1952, p. 71). It is widely found among all pastoral Arabs of Northern Africa and of the Arabian Peninsula.

As to the use of camel brands produced by burning with a redhot iron it seems difficult to judge from distributions the origin of this method. These brands are known among most Tuareg with the exception of the *Kel Ferwan* and other Tuareg of Ayr, who use earmarks cut with a knife. Earmarks seem to be used for camels also among the Moors (cf. Monteil 1952, p. 103) and were apparently used in ancient Arabia (cf. Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 298). One might perhaps assume that earmarks constitute an older type of proprietry marks, while brands came later. But information about marks and brands is scarce.

The origin of many traits of camel-breeding cannot be determined, but it is not be doubted that the Arabs have introduced into North Africa a particular breed of camel together with certain saddles and objects connected with the use of the camel as a pack animal. There is also no doubt that these

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Each row of forked poles has a lath resting horizontally in the prongs. This lath is called *éseger* (pl. *igaw*).

Two rows of boughs are fixed to the laths as a base for the roof covering. These boughs are known as *ibezaren* (no sing.). They rest with one end upon the central lath, the other end upon one of the outer laths. As the row of forked poles which carry the central lath is frequently somewhat higher than the two outer rows, the *ibezaren* boughs may be fixed in a somewhat sloping position and thus form a slightly elevated saddle roof which is covered with various kinds of plant material (e.g., palm leaves).

The walls of the hut consist of slender vertical sticks fixed in the ground and surrounded by simple mats (*atenkî*) made from the stems of the *afezu*-grass (*Panicum turgidum*). The huts have only one door-opening which is generally made at one of the narrow ends.

The *téjira* hut is frequently a very spacious one, and in general it is so high that a grown man can easily stand upright in it. The poles used for the hut are rather heavy and the structure is built by the men, while most other dwellings used among the Tuareg are erected by women.

A.5.b. The square or rectangular hut found among sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer is called *ékeber* (pl. *ikebran*). In Tasilé-n-Ajjer similar huts are also used by certain pastoral Tuareg, though their huts generally are round and provided with a conical roof (cf. A.6, p. 335 ff.). In Ahaggar square or rectangular straw-huts are not generally used by pastoralists, though they may be found among certain noble Tuareg when they camp in the lower country where building material is available.

Most huts are almost square and in size up to about 6 × 6 metres so that they are generally somewhat bigger than the *téjira* hut just mentioned. One hut seen in Tasilé-n-Ajjer had a structure very much like that of a *téjira* hut with a slightly elevated saddle-back roof. The *ékeber* hut of Northern Tuareg country usually has 9 forked poles buried solidly in the soil, forming three rows of poles

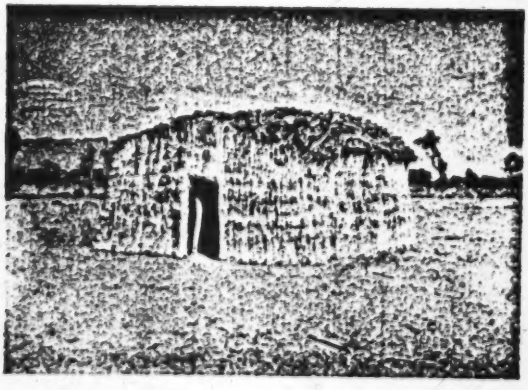

Fig. 249 b. The *téjira* hut structure covered with mats a few days later. Ayr, Iferwan.

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A.9. *Barrel-vaulted huts*

A barrel-vaulted dwelling according to my difinition is "a dwelling with a certain number of parallel arches which form the main support for the rest of the structure". Non-portable dwellings of barrel-vaulted structure are far less important in North-west Africa than beehive huts. They seem to be known in the Fezzan area (cf. Scarin 1934, I, phot. 81 p. 169), and they are found along the Niger where they are not always used for dwellings but frequently serve as store-rooms, and the like.

There are a few barrel-vaulted huts in most Ayr villages but everywhere they constitute a minority compared with other dwellings. The origin of barrel-vaulted village dwellings is not very difficult to determine. The name of such a hut is *ẽhen*, which is the word also used for the portable barrel-vaulted dwelling of Ayr pastoralists, and there is often very little difference between small barrel-vaulted huts and the portable dwellings of pastoralists. But barrel-vaulted huts of sedentary people have adopted some of the structural elements found in beehive huts. Most barrel-vaulted huts of the Ayr villages can be described as a hybrid type of dwelling, which seems to have been adopted as a result of contact with pastoralists, largely because village farmers have married pastoral women, for barrel-vaulted huts, like beehive huts, are built by women, and portable barrel-vaulted dwellings are also made by women among pastoral Tuareg.

The following is the structure of a normal barrel-vaulted hut of the Ayr villages:

(1) Three arches made of slender rods of *ẽbizgen* (*Salvadora persica*), or from midribs of palm leaves, which are lashed together in a bundle. These arches are similar to those used for beehive huts (cf. A.8.c.) and they are also called *igegan* (sing. *egegu*).

(2) The three arches are fastened to short heavy poles (*iseḳtan*, sing. *aseḳtu*) buried in the ground on the same system as that used for beehive huts, but the arches are placed parallel to one another, and the middle arch is higher than the two outer arches.

Fig. 260. The wooden skeleton of a large *ẽhen* hut. Ayr, Azzal.

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lashed together to form arches are manufactured by the Ayr women, or are imported from the south by the *Kel Geres* Tuareg when they visit Ayr at the end of the rains. The arches manufactured by the Ayr women are made from the very long horizontal roots (*iékéwt*) of the *afagag* acacia (*Acacia Raddiana*). Pieces of root of suitable size are placed over an open fire for a while, and are thereupon bent into the desired curve which is secured by cords. When the root pieces thus treated become dry they will retain their curved form; the cords are then untied and the root pieces fashioned with a knife. However, wooden arches imported by the *Kel Geres* are used by many Ayr Tuareg who claim that these arches are superior to their own. They are said to be manufactured from boughs (or roots?) of a tree known as *tarmumiya*, which does not grow in Ayr but in the *Kel Geres* country.

(2) Parallel to the three arches there are two pairs of cross-bars supported by vertical sticks, a pair being placed at both sides of the arches to form the narrow sides of the dwelling. These cross-bars are termed *isgar* (sing. *éseger*). They are sometimes made by blacksmiths, and are then provided with various ornaments including a little discus-like thickening carved at the middle of the bar. In fairly large tents each cross-bar is supported by four vertical sticks, the two middle ones of which are generally forked, while the two outer sticks are somewhat higher and attached to the cross-bar with cords. All these vertical sticks, including the outer ones which have no prongs, are termed *tigettewin* (sing. *tégettewt*). In smaller tents there are only two or three sticks supporting the cross-bar. The vertical sticks used to support the cross-bars are normally very simple. Sticks of the very light *turza* tree (*Calotropis procera*) are preferred.

(3) Over this skeleton of arches and cross-bars supported by vertical sticks are placed a number of slender curved rods which are termed *ilellewan* (sing. *alellewa*). These rods are made from acacia roots, as described above, or are rods of the *tarmumiya* tree imported from the south. These rods form semi-arches in the longitudinal direction of the tent. Each of these semi-arches consists of two identical rods fastened to the horizontal cross-bars at their thick end, while at their thin ends they are lashed together and fastened to the true arches. There is always a considerable number of these slender semi-arches, normally about ten.

The Ayr Tuareg use the following types of mats to cover the upper part of the dome-shaped structure:— *iwerweren* (sing. *éwerwer*), the mats made from plant stems tied to each other with leather thread (cf. p. 350); *isfal* (sing. *ésefel*), mats of an oval shape plaited from dum palm leaves; *asalemamas*, a long narrow piece of mat made from dum palm leaves. In addition there is the term *éreli* which designates the long narrow mat plaited from dum palm leaves surrounding the lower part of the tent structure. In very hot weather this mat is omitted so that currents of air may pass through the dwelling, while the tent is closed when it is cold, or during storms. A tent as that described has a dome-shaped or barrel-vaulted superstructure, the ground-plan being almost rectangular. A tent of normal size will measure about 3.00×4.50 m with a height of 1.80 to 1.90 m.

The mat tent is erected by one or two Tuareg women in the following way:—

(1) The ground is cleared; (2) The large wooden bed (*tédabut*), which is used everywhere in the south, is placed upon the ground to facilitate measuring; (3) Two large pronged posts, which serve to carry woman's riding cushions and various large skin bags, are placed behind the bed and fixed into holes dug by means of some iron implement, e.g., the cooking tripod, the broad end of a lance,

[text continues on p. 353]

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*342 281 shape. In Southern Tuareg groups the skin tents also vary much in size, but they tend to be larger. Thus it is stated by Nicolas that skin tents among the *Kel Dennek* measure up to one hundred square metres (Nicolas 1938, p. 54), and Lhote says that 80–150 skins are used for sheets of the very large tents of the *Tengerregif* Tuareg (Lhote 1947a, p. 100).

[807] The Tuareg themselves do not refer to the size of a tent by counting the number of skins, or by measuring. The size of a tent is indicated by reference to the number of skin rows in the longitudinal direction of the sheet, and these rows of skin are known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tarda* (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 247 ff.). I have myself seen extremely small tents having a sheet of only three *tarda*, but a tent of normal size will generally have four or five such skin rows, and some even have six or [462] seven *tarda*. Among the Northern Tuareg the sheet is manufactured in Tuareg camps by pastoral [562] women and their female slaves. Among the *Kel Dennek*, tent sheets are manufactured by women of [564] the blacksmith caste (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 155).

*342 285 A mat to be drawn around the lower part of the dwelling constitutes a very essential part of Tuareg skin tents. This mat is generally made from the stems of *afezu* (*afezu*) grass (*Panicum turgidum*) tied together with leather strips as already described. A tent mat at times is divided into two halves which are rolled up and placed at each of the narrow ends of the tent during hot weather so that currents [351] of air may pass through. When weather is cold and also when storms are raging, the Tuareg close their tents with these mats, which may also be drawn out to form a kind of low courtyard in front of the tent (cf. Figs. 267–269). The straw mat made from *afezu* stems tied to one another is known as *éseber* (pl. *isebran*) both among the Northern Tuareg and in Ayr, while the name of a tent mat among the *Kel Dennek* is *šitek* (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 154), or *chitek* according to our transcription system. Among the Northern Tuareg, tent mats are generally about one metre high, while varying much as to length. These mats very frequently serve as a kind of wind-screen leaning against poles,

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Fig. 267. Skin tent seen from the back. The shape of the sheet is most irregular. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehle* tribe.

[text continues on p. 364]

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judicial or military authority, and the vassals could complain over their noble lords to the drum-chief, whom they could even dismiss if dissatisfied with him.

In some Tuareg groups the vassals were not allowed to possess camels, and it is interesting here to mention that among certain East African peoples cattle or productive cows are owned only by people of a noble or aristocratic class (cf. Roscoe 1923a, p. 51; 1923b, p. 2, 15; Oberg 1940, p. 130; Maquet 1954, p. 29, 171). Where Tuareg vassals owned camels the noble Tuareg had the right to make use of these animals, and even to-day there are vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar who give their milk-yielding she-camels to the nobility.

In some Tuareg groups there seem to be traditions in favour of the theory that the class-division, which forms the basis of most Tuareg political systems, arose as the result of the conquest by pastoral camel-breeders of nomads or semi-nomads subsisting mainly on goat-breeding. We have mentioned that the word *Kel Ulli*, which means literally "the goat people", are used as a generic term for vassals among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Kel Dennek* of the *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg. We have also seen that the word *Imṛad* is used for "vassals" in all groups, and it perhaps also refers to goat-breeding with the meaning of "a kid" (cf. p. 408). If this latter explanation be correct it might seem that the word "*Imṛad*" was originally a contemptuous term, and this is in accordance with the fact that vassals among the *Kel Ahaggar* do not use this term, and do not like to be known by it, though they have nothing against the term "*Kel Ulli*".

Even to-day there is a certain cultural distinction between noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar. Rich noble Tuareg will whenever possible subsist on camel's milk, while vassals, although they may be rich in camels, attach much importance to the breeding of goats and the manufacture of butter and cheese. The noble Tuareg use camels for the transportation of tents during nomadic migrations, while even rich vassals will generally use donkeys. Noble women possess special riding saddles for camels, but they are unknown in the class of true vassals. Vassal women do not generally ride camels, but donkeys, which are never ridden by noble women. Noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar are culturally different in other respects, and I attach a particular importance to the following distinctions:— (1) In noble tribes bride-wealth is seven camels, in vassal tribes it is one to three camels, alternatively perhaps goats. Among vassals of Tasilé-n-Ajjer bride-wealth is 25–30 goats. (2) The noble Tuareg brand camels and donkeys with a red-hot iron, whereas true vassals use earmarks for donkeys, as they do for goats. However, in one vassal tribe, the *Dag Ṛali*, donkeys are marked in both ways. (3) Among noble Tuareg the tent belongs to the husband, among vassals it is owned by the wife. (4) The noble Tuareg frequently use a tent with a central T-shaped post which is said to be peculiar to the tents used by noble Tuareg. (5) The bandoleer known as *tirẓemin*, or *ibeyderen*, perhaps connected with camel-riding, is said to have been used originally among noble Tuareg and not among vassals. (6) The noble Tuareg do not eat birds, eggs, fish, and reptiles, while vassal Tuareg will not refuse food of this kind. It can be added that elements of an ancient hunting culture are found particularly among vassals, who use the hunting spear with a wooden shaft, the spiked wheel-trap, and other ancient hunting methods. There are other distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals, but the two originally distinct cultures have largely merged. Certain noble Tuareg to-day have large flocks of goats which, however, are tended exclusively by slave women. Apart from sewing, embroidering,

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and the manufacture of decorated leather-bags, camel-reins, etc., and decorated wooden milk-bowls, the noble women do extremely little work.

Among the *Kel Ajjer* we find some of the above-mentioned distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals. The traditional dwelling of many vassal Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer is the cylindrical hut (house) with a conical roof, though vassals in winter use skin-tents during nomadic migrations. Nowadays noble and vassal Tuareg alike live in straw-huts throughout the hot season. Barth, in his description of the *Kel Ajjer*, mentions that the vassals have no right to possess iron spears and swords (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 257), but it is stated explicitly by Duveyrier that noble Tuareg and vassals have the same weapons – the shield included (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff.). There can be little doubt that Duveyrier's statement is true, and I have been told among all Tuareg that in the past noble and vassal Tuareg did not differ in regard to weapons. A distinction would also seem rather strange in view of the fact that Tuareg of both classes fought together. Barth says that noble Tuareg and vassals differ in dress, but he does not give details (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 257).

As to the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group, both noble and vassal Tuareg say that in the past there were hardly any cultural distinctions between them. Bride-wealth in both classes was paid in camels. We know that the Ayr vassals in the past were predominantly goat-breeders, like many Ayr vassals to-day, and it seems as if camel-breeding was once a privilege of the nobility in the *Kel Ferwan* group (cf. p. 431; cf. tradition on the origin of the noble *Kel Ferwan*, p. 421). I have not been able to find differences between the two classes in regard to material culture and social organization. The noble Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group say that they never have had types of portable dwellings other than the barrel-vaulted mat tent, which traditionally belongs to the woman.

There is very little information about cultural distinctions between noble and vassal Tuareg in other groups. Among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* the vassals apparently use the arched mat tent more frequently than do noble Tuareg, but this and the skin tent supported by vertical sticks carrying cross-bars are found in both classes (cf. Barth 1857–58, I, p. 372 f.; Gabus 1945, p. 361 & 1948a, p. 15 & 1948b, p. 16). Among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* the mat tent is used by certain noble Tuareg (Nicolas 1950a, p. 156 f.). According to the chief *Amder* women's riding saddles for camels (*akhawi*) among the *Kel Ataram* are found only in noble tribes. Vassal tribes of the *Kel Ataram* living close to the Niger even to-day practise matrilineal rules of inheritance and succession in contrast to noble tribes with rules of patrilineal succession and Ḳoranic inheritance (cf. p. 457).

Cultural distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals are particularly prevalent in the two groups of Northern Tuareg, and it is significant that the traits characteristic of the noble class are also common among the *Iregenaten* who live in Tamesna. This tribe is said to descend from mixed marriages between Tuareg women of the *Ibettenaten* tribe, which claims noble descent, and Arab men. This explanation is found in literature (cf. Lhote 1955, p. 238 f.; Briggs 1958, p. 100) and has been confirmed to me by Tuareg of this tribe. It is interesting that some traits characteristic of the noble tribes among the Northern Tuareg are also found in tribes of the *Isekkemaren* class. The tribes of this latter class are said to be related to Arabs among whom we also find some of these traits.

We do not know when the noble Tuareg in the northern groups adopted traits that are also found among Arab bedouins. One might perhaps venture the theory that some of them were introduced